THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

# ROUND TABLE

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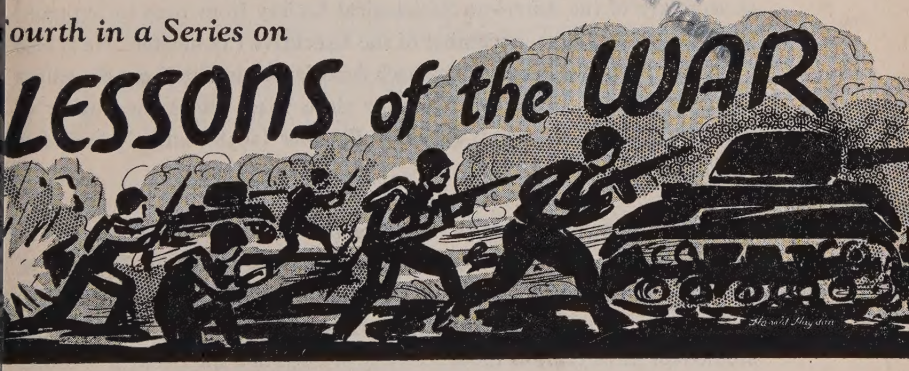
# THE MEANING OF THE WAR

*Fourth in a Series on*

## LESSONS of the WAR



*A Radio Discussion by* LIN YUTANG
HERBERT BLUMER *and* RICHARD MCKEON

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# *Around the Round Table . . . .*

LIN YUTANG, distinguished Chinese author and scholar, was born in China in 1895. He has spent many years in this country and was granted his A.M. degree from Harvard University. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Leipzig. Dr. Lin is the author of many books, among which are *A Leaf in the Storm* (1941); *With Love and Irony* (1940); *Moment in Peking* (1939); *My Country and My People* (1935); *The Importance of Living* (1937); and the current best-seller, *Between Tears and Laughter* (1943).

HERBERT BLUMER, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, is a native of St. Louis, Missouri. He received his A.B. and M.A. degrees from the University of Missouri and his Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago. Professor Blumer served as secretary of the American Sociological Society from 1930 to 1935 and is, at the present time, a member of the Executive Committee. He is also a member of the Sociological Research Association and has been the editor of the *American Journal of Sociology* since 1940. He is the author of *Movies and Conduct* (1933), *Collective Behavior* (1938), and *Appraisal of Social Research* (1939).

RICHARD P. MCKEON, professor of Greek and philosophy at the University of Chicago, is also dean of the Division of Humanities at the University. Dean McKeon received his A.B., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees from Columbia University, and he also studied for three years at the University of Paris and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes in France. Besides the University of Chicago, he has also taught philosophy and Greek and Latin at Columbia University. He is the author of *The Philosophy of Spinoza* (1928) and *Studies in the History of Ideas*, Vol. III (co-author) (1935). He is also the editor and translator of *Selections from Mediaeval Philosophers*, Vol. I: *Augustine to Albert the Great* (1929); Vol. II: *Roger Bacon to William of Ockham* (1930); and *The Basic Work of Aristotle* (1941). He is a member of the board of editors of *Classical Philology* and the *Journal of the History of Ideas* and a contributor to numerous other journals and publications.

# THE MEANING OF THE WAR

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MR. MCKEON: The danger in discussing a question as broad as "The Meaning of the War" is that the discussion may run into vague abstractions. I think we can avoid this, however, if we begin by asking what the actual meaning of the war, at the present time, is to the American people.

MR. BLUMER: Not very much. It does not mean much.

MR. LIN: But it should mean something. After all, there is great human sacrifice involved in it.

MR. MCKEON: That points our discussion nicely. We are the fourth of a series of broadcasts on the "Lessons of the War," and America's part in the international world, on the domestic front, and the economic system has already been considered. If the world war means very little to the Americans at present and if it should mean a lot, that is an important problem.[1]

MR. LIN: Mr. Blumer, I am sure you have a lot of facts about

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[1] See Carl Friedrich, Maynard Krueger, and Preston Slosson, *America's Place in the World*, a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 281, broadcast August 8, 1943; William Benton, Eric Johnston, and Harold Laski, *The Economic System—Today and Tomorrow*, a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 282, broadcast August 15, 1943; and Neil Jacoby, Eliot Janeway, and Donald Kingsley, *The Domestic Front*, a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 283, broadcast August 22, 1943.

the actual attitude of Americans toward the meaning of the war and about what they are thinking about it.

MR. BLUMER: Mr. Lin and Mr. McKeon, you probably think that that was an awfully inadequate and injudicious statement to say that the war does not mean much to the Americans, but what I have in mind is the fact that the Americans are fighting this war merely for the purpose of winning it. They are not engaged in it in a moral crusade. They are not engaged in it for the purpose of trying to get glory or get power, but instead they are engaged in it because essentially they have been forced into it, and this fact has given them a sort of a matter-of-fact practical attitude.

I would also add what I think is more important—namely, that the American people are not deriving from this war anything in the nature of a transforming experience. It is not leading them to develop a new idea of their role in the world or any new idea of their obligations, but, to repeat, in my judgment, they are essentially engaged in the war for the purpose of getting it over with.

MR. MCKEON: The meaning of the war, then, is not a moral meaning but the meaning simply of winning the war and getting it over. I think that I should agree with you in that general formulation. There is a great deal in the way of statistical data to indicate that that is the case, but let us divide it into the two parts.

The first part has to do with the internal reform. The Gallup poll of August 23 raised the question of whether the United States contemplates any reform after the war. The answer was that only 32 per cent of the people look upon the war as inducing an internal re-

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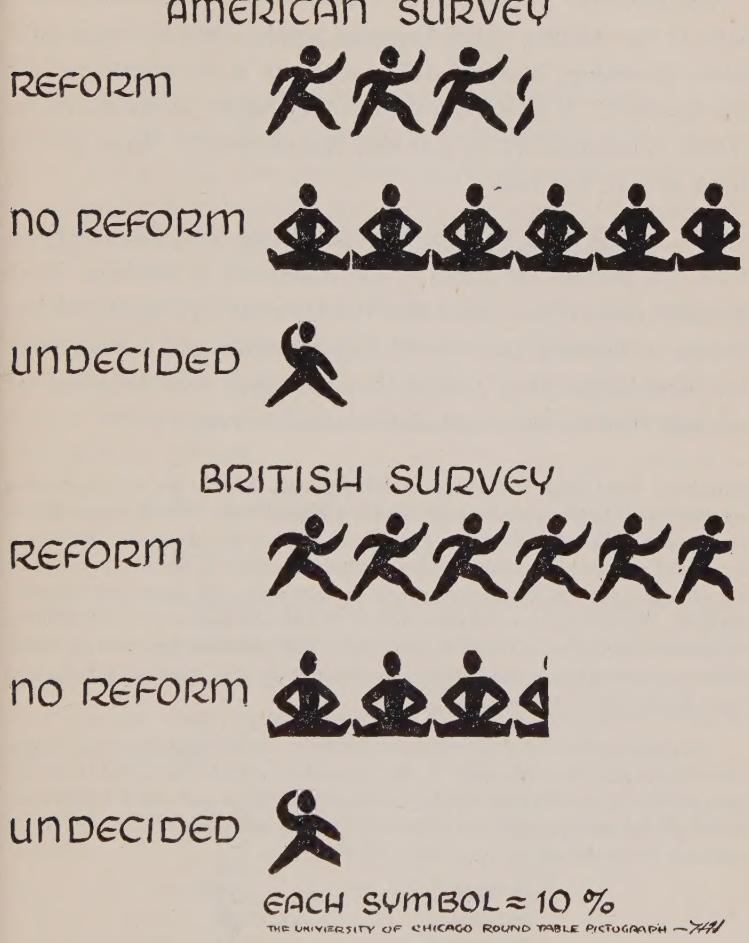
## SHALL WE HAVE REFORM AT HOME AFTER THE WAR?*




* The question by the American Institute of Public Opinion (released on August 23, 1943) asked: "After the war would you like to see many changes or reforms made in the United States, or would you rather have the country remain pretty much the way it was before the war?" A similar question was asked in

form, whereas the same question in Great Britain led to 57 per cent looking to a reform.

MR. BLUMER: I think that that substantially indicates the character of the thinking of the American people. That is to say, their whole psychology is pretty well summed up in the expression "for the duration." After the war is over, they expect, on the whole, to return to the mode of life that they had previously. What do you think of that, Mr. Lin?

MR. LIN: I think that the English, as seen from the Beveridge Plan, are perhaps far ahead of the Americans in thinking about domestic reform; but I think that the Americans are equal with the British in thinking about world responsibilities and the necessity for world cooperation. I think that they have very definitely renounced their former isolationist attitude, for instance.[2]

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Britain by the British Institute of Public Opinion. Men in the armed services were not questioned in this survey. In the United States, within the age group twenty-one to twenty-nine years, 35 per cent favored reform, 55 per cent no reform, and 10 per cent were undecided. At the same time, in Britain, in the same age group, 62 per cent favored reform, 28 per cent none, and 10 per cent were undecided. According to income grouping, in Britain, the highest per cent favoring reform came in the lower brackets, while in the United States there was very little difference among the groups, although the highest per cent favoring such changes came in the upper income group.

[2] Britons in all walks of life were questioned by the British Institute of Public Opinion on what they thought of the proposal for a state-controlled insurance plan to which they and their employers would contribute and which would guarantee all sick and unemployed adults two pounds per week. Their answers, as released on December 10, 1942, were as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| In favor | 70% |
| Opposed | 16 |
| No opinion | 14 |

On August 14, 1943, a Gallup poll from the American Institute of Public Opinion was released in which the American public was asked whether they favored the extension of the present Social Security Act to include the payment of

MR. MCKEON: I think that that could be pointed up very nicely by the recognition that we have, again according to the Gallup poll, assumed some responsibilities in relation to world organization.

MR. BLUMER: Just what are those figures?

MR. MCKEON: For example, there was asked, in the Gallup poll of June 5, the question of whether we should engage in an international police force. The percentage of Americans who desire our participation in that police force is 74, and exactly the same percentage—74—of the British have indicated their readiness.

MR. BLUMER: Yes, I think, in addition to that, that a Gallup poll for July, 1942, indicated that, whereas in October, 1937, 33 per cent of the people declared that they were in favor of the United States' being in the League, in July, 1942, that number had increased to 73 per cent.

MR. MCKEON: Let us put these two sets of facts together. I think that we have a problem right there.

MR. LIN: It seems that that already contradicts the first attitude of wanting the war quickly done and over with, because if the Americans do look forward to a period of world cooperation, then they are also thinking of something else besides coming home to eat their apple pie.

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benefits for sickness, disability, and doctor and hospital bills. The vote was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 59% |
| No | 29 |
| Undecided | 12 |

Of the 59 per cent approving the program, 44 per cent said that they would be willing to pay 6 per cent of their salary or wages in order to make this program possible; 11 per cent said that they would be unwilling; and 4 per cent were undecided.

MR. BLUMER: One has to be careful, however, in the way in which one is going to interpret such sets of figures. While it is undoubtedly true that the American people have realized that the formula of isolationism was not successful in preventing this war and, accordingly, that they stand for some type of world cooperation, at the same time I think it is true that it is a rather vague idea back in their minds. It is not at all clear; it is not very definite.

MR. MCKEON: The problem can be put this way—the apprehension, not the hope, that we will have no internal reform will not be consistent with any real and active participation in the international order. If the international order seems to affect us internally, painfully, we will withdraw; and, conversely, the apprehension of internal change comes from the strangeness of some of the emerging forces in the world today.

MR. BLUMER: I think that there is a great deal of truth in that. As I see it, the American people are substantially rather confused in their notions of what this world cooperation is to mean. We also must realize that they have reservations in this participation in the world cooperation. For example, in speaking to people, very frequently I get this sort of inconsistency. They will declare, "Well, we'd like to help, and we will help out other nations." But if I ask them, "Would you be willing to allow foreign goods to enter this country and enter into competition with local goods?" immediately they begin to make some reservations.

MR. MCKEON: I think that we are in agreement, then, as to the region of the problem and that the American situation is a reflection of the total world situation. On the one hand, there is a great awareness that the world is closely knit together. On the other hand, I think, in America, in Asia, and in Europe, there will be an emergence of nationalisms. But, with that agreement, I suspect that each of us

will go his own characteristic way to resolve the problems that are presented in that dilemma.

It seems to me that the best way to bring out our agreements and disagreements is to take up successively how we would face this problem. Mr. Lin, suppose we begin with your version.

MR. LIN: I must first begin by registering my protest against this rather prosaic and uninspired view of the war—get it over with. I think that that is a very unintelligent view and that it is purely the result of confusion of war aims. We have not taken time to think of the meaning of the war.

MR. MCKEON: How would you formulate the statement of the meaning of the war?

MR. LIN: There is a meaning to war. War involves the sacrifice of millions of men's lives and mothers' longings and hopes and fears. It must have a meaning. I refuse to believe that human beings are content with just being busy all the day without knowing what they are busy about. It is human nature to think—and now, I think, there is a meaning.

I should like to point out a historical meaning of the war as seen, let us say, by a historian forty or fifty years from now. He will be able to see certain historical forces of development and how the war came about. The war would have a meaning to such a historian.

MR. MCKEON: I think that much that you say, Mr. Lin, Americans would agree with. There is the same feeling of the futility of what we are doing unless it is leading to something, but you have not yet stated in any explicit terms what this meaning is.

MR. LIN: I can be very explicit. I can put it in three words, in fact—the issue of this war is empire versus freedom.

MR. MCKEON: Will you develop the meaning of "empire" and "freedom"? They are both difficult words.

MR. LIN: By "empire" I do not mean any particular empire—British Empire or Dutch Empire or Belgian Empire or Spanish Empire. I mean a system of imperialism, of a world half free and half slave. By "freedom" on the other side, I mean the independence of nations. They are growing up. The reason why I associate this with the historical is because the war has already pointed out several facts. It has pointed out the closer communications of the world. It has pointed out the emergence of Russia. It has pointed out the nascent nationalism of many Asiatic nations. We have to take cognizance of these facts and resolve these conflicts.

MR. MCKEON: I should want, with you, Mr. Lin, to insist upon a historical view of the war. But it seems to me that the statement that you make of the opposition between empire and freedom is an oversimplification unless we can find some practical means by which to reform that opposition. To take a single instance, the British Commonwealth of Nations is an empire at present. It is not the contrary of freedom. The dominion system that has been set up is a free system. The colonial system within the same Commonwealth would be justified by the British apologists partly as a means of maintaining the freedom of the total group, partly as a preparation for freedom.

MR. LIN: I would agree with you there about the British Commonwealth. I do not think that anybody challenges the British Commonwealth. But there are many people who are worried about the question of empire versus freedom. You said just a moment ago that it was perhaps an oversimplification. I maintain that we need certain very simple, broad truths and that, unless we stick to certain

broad principles, we will be forced to deal with each individual problem—the problem of Africa, of Sicily, of India, as it comes along.

MR. BLUMER: If I may break in, my criticism of your position would be not on the grounds of its being an oversimplification but rather on the grounds of its being very vague and very impractical.

Mind you, I, like most Americans, like freedom, and we would like to see people all over the world have freedom. But if you translate that formula into some practical situation and realize, as all of us have already agreed, that there are multitudes of peoples and nations all over the world who have nationalistic aspirations and if you realize that they are going to try to satisfy them, it would seem to me that to approach this problem on the basis of just gratuitously awarding freedom to these people would result in a situation of great turmoil, of great discord, and of war.

MR. LIN: I am afraid that I must disagree with you there. I think that wars are brought about by empires and not by the independence of nations. For instance, the Indians or the Hindus insist that they cannot come to Gadag with the Moslems because the English are there. The moment that the English get out, they will be able to arrive at some formula.

On the other hand, if we have an empire, it will be to the interest of any empire to play up the racial differences among the different groups and, in that way, to bring about greater and greater disunity.

MR. BLUMER: I would like to hear from you, McKeon, your ideas as to what you think is the great lesson of the war and what has to be done.

MR. MCKEON: I can state what I take to be the meaning of the war very well in the terms of the opposition that you and Mr. Lin have just been pursuing.

It seems to me appropriate to try to bring out the lesson in terms both of the historical and of the practical which both of you have set forth. But, if that is the simple opposition, then it seems to me that empire versus freedom runs into this difficulty. We are, in an ideal way, in favor of freedom; but would you be able to persuade the great empires to give up their possessions? We are, in a practical way, aiming at an ideal; but will we be able to control the individual forces and interests of the empires, the countries, the nations, that come together?

MR. BLUMER: What do you think about that?

MR. MCKEON: I'd like to put it in terms of a catchword. This war is primarily an ideological war. We have learned that from our enemies. They have made great use—or misuse—of ideas. They have used pseudo-ideas—phony ideas. They have used sociology; they have used politics; they have used biology, and even philosophy, as a means of waging war. Consider what they have done in terms of the two problems we have set up. They want to unify the world. They will unify it by means of conquest. They want a place for each people in the world. The "co-prosperity of Asia," on the one hand, or the "master folk" of Germany, on the other hand. Those are false ideas, but, nonetheless, they are a given answer to the question.

MR. LIN: What, in concrete terms, would those ideas be? Would they be for the freedom and equality of all peoples as the ultimate objective?

MR. MCKEON: The way that I would like to put it is that we have the advantage of the true ideas. The force of the true ideas against these false ideas would be of great importance. The importance of the idea, however, would be that it would make a prepara-

tion for the granting of the freedom that you speak of, Mr. Lin, and would be a way of making practicable the practical devices you speak of, Blumer.

Mr. Blumer: Your notion, then, McKeon, as I understand it, is that what we need is a dissemination of what you call "true ideas." This is to be the basis for the organization of the peace.

Mr. McKeon: I put it in two steps. I think that during the period of the war we must learn—and we can do this as a nation—more and more to appreciate the ideas and aspirations of other peoples and of our own aspirations, to discover the way in which interests that we think are divergent can coincide in the common interest.

Mr. Lin: I would agree with you, but I think that I would put it in a slightly different way. Your idea would be what I call the American idea extended to the world in general. Just as the different states of this Union share freedom and equality within the law, so all the nations of the world should have that privilege. That I would call just an American idea.

Mr. McKeon: I would like to call it an American idea. We are talking about the meaning of the war, and what I should like to say is that possibly from the American experience we can get an idea which is not merely the American idea, because, once we have taken this first step, the second and the important step should be the setting-up of an international organization which is not based upon a single idea—philosophic, psychological, sociological, or religious—but should rather be a means by which international agreements can be arrived at and the individual peculiarities and interests pursued.

Mr. Lin: When you talk about ideas, you run up into these problems. You say that you want to be practical. How are you go-

ing to proceed without having any principles? I insist that we must have a philosophy behind it. I insist that, whatever kind of federation—world federation—we have, it will become either, let us say, world oligarchy—rule by a few nations—or democracy—rule by the many. Oligarchy or democracy, which will it be? The American principle of government is by consent of the people.

We have to have established, here and now, some such philosophy before we can proceed to deal with the separate concrete problems.

MR. BLUMER: You say "before we proceed"?

MR. LIN: Yes, "before we proceed." Otherwise, you deal with each problem as it comes up, and you are lost in the trivialities of tariffs, of quotas, of treaties, and of population figures.

MR. MCKEON: I would like to get back into this discussion, since I am the one who brought up philosophy and since I am the one who is insisting on the importance of philosophic discussion. I entirely disagree with you, Mr. Lin. I do not think that we have to set up a philosophy. I think, with Blumer, that that would be an impossibility. But I think that we need a philosophical discussion. I would visualize it in terms of the American experience—as the difference between the Declaration of Independence, which was a statement of a philosophy, and the Constitution, which was a means of governmental agreement within which a vast number of philosophies, a vast number of interests (economic and social), and a vast number of religions could harmoniously develop without the need of resorting to violence to resolve problems.

MR. BLUMER: What you say, of course, is dear to the heart of an American, with your emphasis upon the experience of the formation of the Constitution. But I think that we have to realize that there is

a considerable difference in the comparison of the two scenes. After all, as we stated before, in the present world war we have the great variety of different nationality groups, obviously with very many conflicting interests and almost certain to come into conflict with one another if they are given the opportunity to act unimpededly upon their own interests. To this extent I do not think that the analogy of the state to the colonies prior to the formation of the Constitution holds. After all, they had fought against Great Britain; they did have a great deal of common unity to begin with. I would submit the fact that that is not the situation that we find in the world today among the divergent groups.

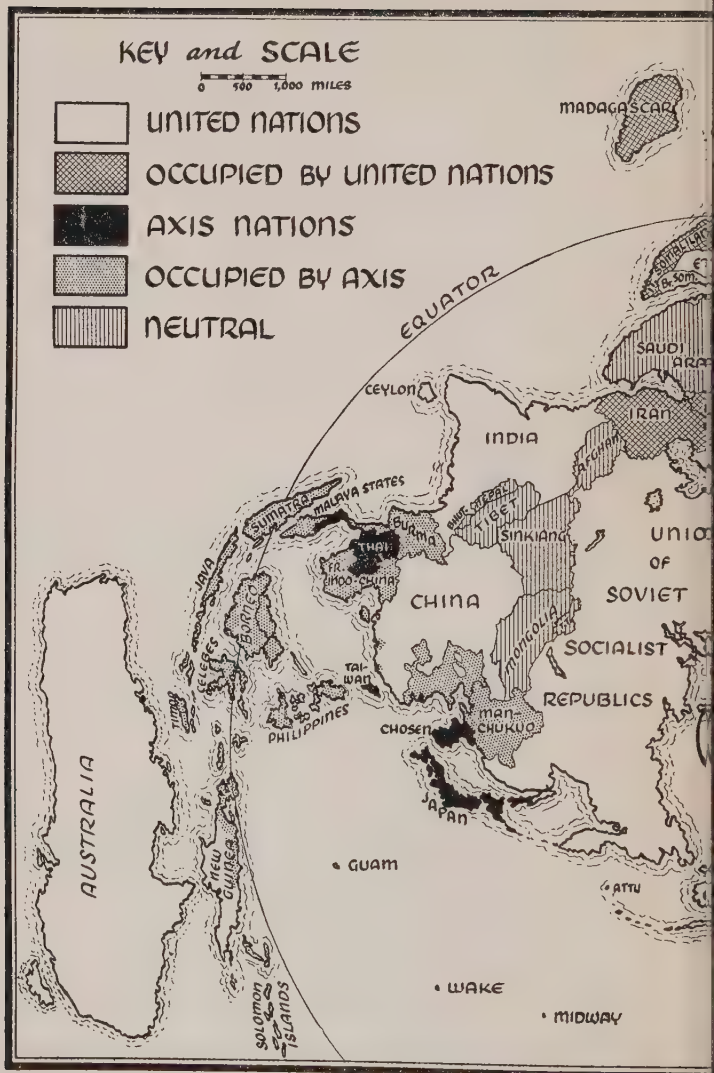
MR. MCKEON: I think, on the contrary, that the events of the technological age have reduced the world pretty much to the condition of the colonies. But what is important is that there will be a transformation, but not in equality or liberty in an economic sense. Therefore, the interests, if they can be transformed into an equality and a participation in world civilization, will resolve the differences into a higher synthesis.

MR. LIN: I agree that we must have ideals, but we must also be practical. Mr. Blumer, I think that you are a practical man. You have some practical ideas on the subject.

MR. BLUMER: My feeling is that both of you have presented very interesting and rather captivating sorts of programs—on the one hand, relying upon the principle of freedom and, on the other hand, developing some sense of world citizenship. I am for those, but I think that those are ultimate objectives for which we have to aim.

But I am very much concerned with the problem of grappling with war at the present time and preventing its reccurrence.

MR. MCKEON: How do you do that? I thought that that was what we were trying to do.

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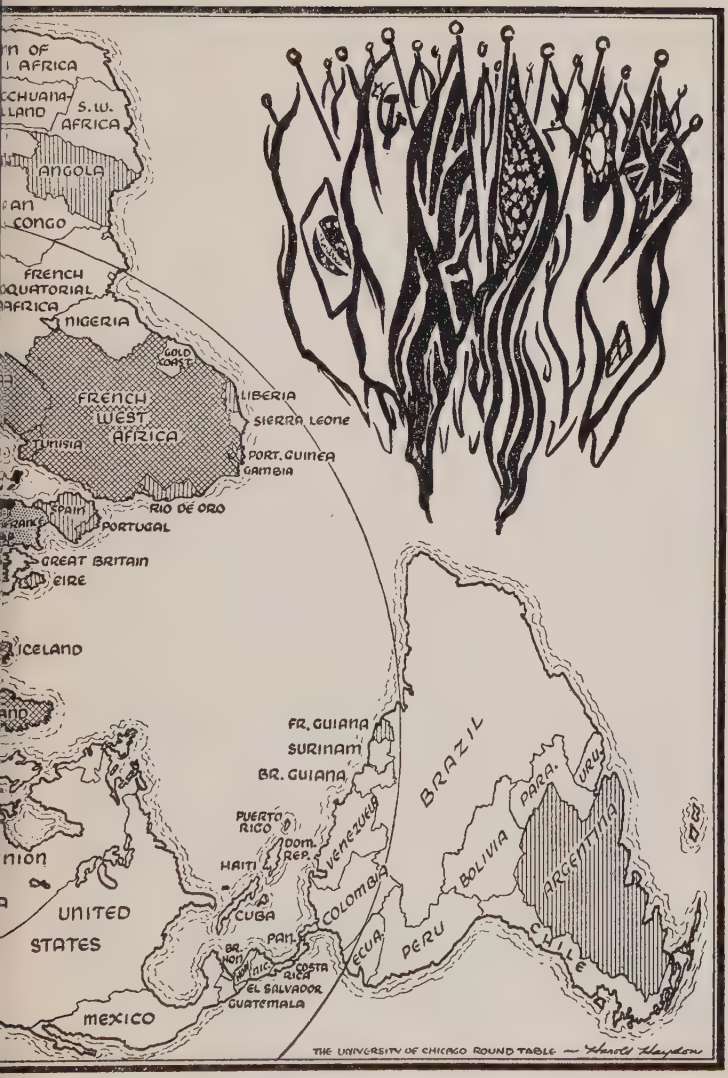


it is greatly distorted beyond the equator in the Southern Hemisphere

MR. BLUMER: I think that you have a very naïve idea as to how that is to be accomplished. It seems to me that a study of modern war makes it rather clear that basically it is the difficulties and the rivalry of the great powers. All significant wars occur in the form of wars between the great powers. Accordingly, even though it may sound very naïve, it seems to me that the solution must be along the line of bringing the great powers into a concert, so that they will abide by and maintain a common peace.

MR. MCKEON: I should agree with that, but it seems to me that I was talking about the prior question—How do you bring the great powers into a concert? How do you get them to agree and see eye to eye?

MR. LIN: Without a basis of ideas.

MR. BLUMER: I think that the effort to develop this basis of ideas—as I understand the two of you propose the world-wide—in a world-wide way is a rather untenable sort of hope to have. I think that what we have to do is to recognize that at the end of this war, as at the end of the first war, we will have a series of powers—those who are the victors, who have already some initial preparation in the way of seeing eye to eye. What is necessary is to develop that type of initial preparation and get these powers to cling together. That means, of course, the reliance upon intelligent statesmanship and, also, upon the cultivation of some intelligent understanding on the part of the people.

MR. LIN: You seem to have faith in the existence of intelligent statesmanship. I have not seen any evidence of it in the last decade. Have you?

MR. BLUMER: Therefore, you are disposed to renounce the whole pattern . . . .

MR. LIN: No.

MR. BLUMER: . . . . of statesmanship, or to see eye to eye?

MR. MCKEON: I am inclined to think that the moral that Mr. Lin would derive from his comment is that to get intelligent statesmen you need intelligent public opinion.

MR. BLUMER: That I would agree with. But, McKeon, you see I think that intelligent public opinion has to be secured, not by trying to generalize the philosophy of peace or by trying to get people to say, "Let's give freedom to everyone in the world." I think that it has to be secured by making the people, in this instance the American people, very definitely aware of the fact that the security of the world, and their own security, does depend upon the maintenance of some concert among the great nations. In other words, I would put the basis on a practical, matter-of-fact program instead of on the basis of some idealized conception.

MR. MCKEON: How would you make the people realize that their interests coincided with the interests of other nations?

MR. BLUMER: That, I think, would have to be done first of all by explaining, as I have said, that their very security requires that type of cooperation.

MR. MCKEON: There is a very striking illustration of the point that I want to make. One of the few bits of news that has come out of Italy since the deposition of Mussolini is the account of a letter by Benedetto Croce, a great Italian philosopher—a liberal, a man who has remained in Italy and yet, as far as safety would permit, has maintained his integrity. He wrote, on August 10, that the problem, as he sees it, is to establish in Italy the practice of freedom —the principles and methods of political debate—as a necessary

preliminary condition to the restoration of Italy. He puts it this way, in his words: "For this reason I have always kept clearly separate the moral problem from economic ones, not for reasons of indifference or coolness toward the latter, but rather because of the clear perception that they can only really be propounded and solved if this distinction is adhered to."

MR. BLUMER: I would say that that sounds very good, and I would subscribe to that in general; but it seems to me that in any realistic sense we have to recognize, as I said before, that the great nations are the ones that are in a position to maintain the peace. We have to put our faith more or less in them and trust to the development of a good public opinion and intelligent statesmanship to adjudicate their differences and keep them looking at things eye to eye.

MR. LIN: I agree with you there, Mr. Blumer, about the importance of getting the great powers to come and work together and also about the menace to world peace as coming from the big powers and decidedly not from the small powers. I would like to add to that by saying that, in order for the big powers to come together and work together, there must be some basis on which it can be accomplished. Such a basis must not be that of power, of contention, or of rivalry. It must be on the basis of something else.

MR. MCKEON: The best way to summarize this discussion, it seems to me, is to take it as an illustration of the need for discussing the meaning of the war.

We have agreed that the war does not mean anything very profound or moral to the American people; that the meaning, nonetheless, resides in the emergence of new world interests that are coincident and have national peculiarities and cultural aspirations that have not been recognized, at least in this country, before. There-

fore, we have agreed upon the necessity of a change in the American attitude.

We are in total disagreement as to the means to be achieved, or rather as to the emphasis or sequence of the means that are to be used. Mr. Lin takes a historical view and looks to the opposition of empire and freedom as a basic opposition. I look upon the problem as more complex and emphasize the need of an understanding on the part of the people as a preparation for an introduction of a world organization. Blumer takes the practical point of view that the concert of world powers will be the resolution of the difficulty.

Or, to summarize it even more simply, Mr. Lin looks upon the democratic control of diplomats as the means of solution. I look upon enlightened public opinion and an organization of the world; Mr. Blumer, to a concert of nations. This is a sample rather than a resolution. It would be impossible to come to an agreement concerning so large a question in the space of a single broadcast, or even a series of broadcasts.

The danger at this time is not that we might seem to disagree about the answer but that we might be persuaded that we can postpone the consideration of the question. The problems which we have touched on today are essential parts of the military and political actions which we are taking at present; they are not remote and theoretic questions to which we may return later and at leisure.

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# *More on This Topic*


AGAR, HERBERT, "The Question for Equality," *Survey Graphic*, November, 1942. *Says that "we are fighting against a world revolution to kill civilization. It is a fight that we can never lose so long as we have a noble civilization to which we honorably adhere; it is a fight that we can never win so long as we are afraid to face the failings that brought the world revolt into being."*

BECKER, CARL, "How New Will the Better World Be?" *Yale Review*, summer, 1943. *Says that making a new and better world is something that is always going on and that war shocks us into taking the task more seriously but does not mean that we will be able to finish the task in this one act.*

DEMPSEY, DAVID, "War for Democracy—or Restoration?" *Antioch Review*, summer, 1943. *Says that the issues today are not basically different from those of 1919. "We can finish this war as we began it, as a war for democracy, or we can finish it as a war of restoration, in which case it will not be finished."*

KOESTLER, ARTHUR, "A Challenge to 'Knights in Rusty Armor,' " *New York Times Magazine*, February 14, 1943.

LIN YUTANG, *Between Tears and Laughter*. New York: John Day, 1943. *Comments on the plans for world order.*

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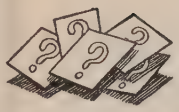
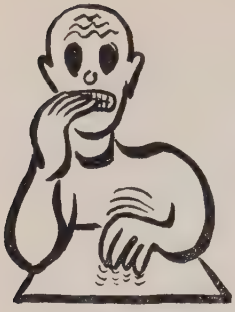
———, "World Philosophies and Results," *Vital Speeches*, April 1, 1943. *A discussion of ways to avoid a third world war.*


For articles dealing with the status of public opinion in the United States and for summaries of the recent polls of public opinion see the current issues of *Public Opinion Quarterly*.



# What Do *You* Think?

1. Do you agree with Professor Blumer that most of the American people are fighting this war merely for the purpose of winning it? Do the people whom you meet want to get the war over with as soon as possible? Do you find any evidence that the people have found deeper meanings in the war?
2. What, in specific terms, does the war mean to you? For what are you and your friends fighting this war? For a new world order? For a new social order at home? To be able to restore the world to its pre-war status? How would you map out a program of war aims?
3. Do you feel that the fact that our entry into this war was precipitated by the attack at Pearl Harbor has influenced the course of American thinking? Do you find that people believe that we are in the war because we were attacked at Pearl Harbor? How does this affect their attitudes toward war and peace aims?
4. Do the American people generally want to embark upon a program of world cooperation after the war is over? Do you believe that isolationism is dead? What sort of program do they have in mind? Do you agree that "if the international order seems to affect us internally, painfully, we will withdraw"? What reservations will have to be made for American cooperation?
5. Dr. Lin stated that "the issue of this war is empire versus freedom." Comment on this statement and discuss its historical meaning.
6. Do you agree with the speakers when they say that nationalism is growing all over the world? How can this phenomenon be explained? Is it dangerous? How will it affect the maintenance of world peace?
7. Do you believe that the American experience in cooperative government can be the basis for solving problems of world federation? In what ways? Do you agree with Blumer that there is no unity among the peoples of the world upon which to build such a system?
8. "All significant wars occur in the form of wars between the great powers." Can this be proved historically? How could a "concert of nations" be worked out specifically? What type of leadership would it need?



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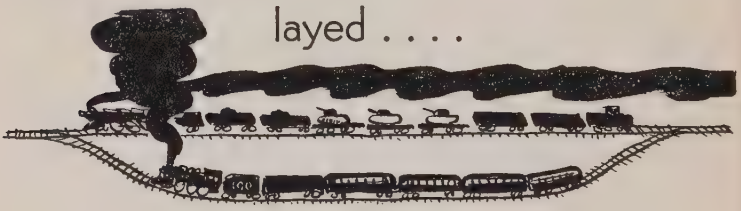

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# *The People Say . . . .*

*The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the* ROUND TABLE *audience on "The Domestic Front," broadcast August 22, 1943.*

*

## Straightforward

Your discussion today was excellent indeed. The speakers were straightforward and honest and concise. They did a magnificent job of thoroughly covering the subject. . . . . —*A listener from Alliance, Ohio.*

*

## Post-war Aim Simple

. . . . I think our post-war aim is simple, definite, and understood by all of us. We want life restored to its original national and individual freedoms—freedom to work or starve as we will; freedom to move about and work, or stay in a rut; freedom from direction from Washington by men untrained to exert such powers. We did not actively protest fascism for over twenty years—as long as it stayed on its side of the fence. When it crossed our doorstep, we got down to business. When we have killed it, let's wash our hands and go back to our own knitting. . . . . —*A listener from Birmingham, Alabama.*

*

## Deplores Spending

. . . . I deplore the assumption that the good life can ever come from the government's giving things directly to its citizens. True, there are times when government spending must take up the slack, but it should be on public developments. . . . .—*A listener from Minneapolis, Minnesota.*

*

## Central Control Necessary

The American people have learned that central control is necessary, but administration should be limited to individuals familiar with the branch of the economy to which they are assigned. In normal times we should train men for this work and select them under a competitive system without political control. . . . .—*A listener from Montpelier, Vermont.*

*

## Honor Not Enough

. . . . The lesson in controlling prices to prevent inflation is that even in a democracy honor is not enough—we must have government control. Rationing has been a boon; otherwise there would have been many people suffering for foods essential to the well-being of the nation. . . . . —*A listener from Huntingdon, Pennsylvania.*

## No Interest

. . . . Private enterprise has no interest in whether I eat or not. Of course, it is interested only in profits! I am more than sixty years old. I have a job only because of the war. . . . .—*A listener from Inglewood, California.*

*

## Nothing Learned

. . . . I've asked several people about the "lessons of the war," and no one seems to have learned anything. People are eager for the war to be over and hope that there will never be another one, but they have not much hope. They feel that people who make money from the war will control the future. . . . .—*A listener from Evansville, Indiana.*

*

## Little Sacrifice at Home

. . . . As for sacrifice, there is none or very little on the "home front." There is inconvenience and increased living expense—the latter in most instances being met by increased income. The living standard of the usual low-income group has risen sharply in conformity with their increased wages and salaries and is the principal cause of shortages in foods and other necessities.—*A listener from Miami, Oklahoma.*

for

# VICTORY

## BUY WAR BONDS

PERMISSION OF ROCKWELL KENT

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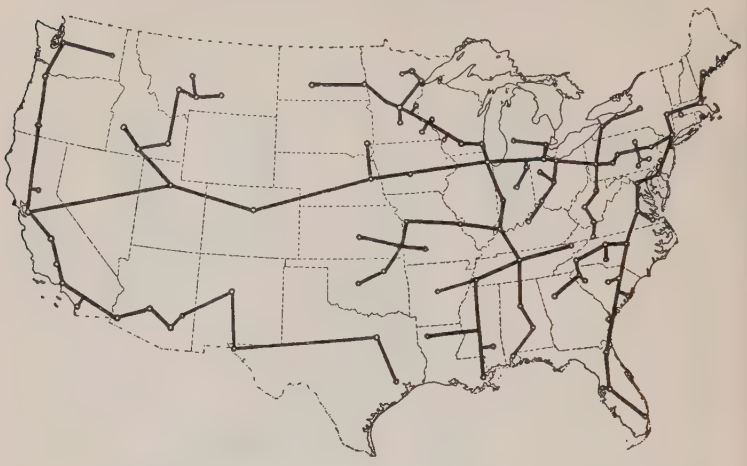

## 119 N.B.C. Stations Carry the Round Table

2:00 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

| *City* | *Call Letters* | *Kilocycles* | *City* | *Call Letters* | *Kilocycles* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Allentown, Pa. | WSAN | 1470 | Martinsville, Va. | WMVA | 1450 |
| Altoona, Pa. | WFBG | 1340 | Miami, Fla. | WIOD | 610 |
| Asheville, N.C. | WISE | 1400 | New York, N.Y. | WEAF | 660 |
| Atlanta, Ga. | WSB | 750 | Norfolk, Va. | WTAR | 790 |
| Bluefield, W.Va. | WHIS | 1440 | Philadelphia, Pa. | KYW | 1060 |
| Boston, Mass. | WBZ | 1030 | Pittsburgh, Pa. | KDKA | 1020 |
| Charleston, S.C. | WTMA | 1250 | Portland, Me. | WCSH | 970 |
| Charleston, W.Va. | WGKV | 1490 | Providence, R.I. | WJAR | 920 |
| Charlotte, N.C. | WSOC | 1240 | Raleigh, N.C. | WPTF | 680 |
| Cincinnati, Ohio | WLW | 700 | Reading, Pa. | WEEU | 850 |
| Clarksburg, W.Va. | WBLK | 1400 | Richmond, Va. | WMBG | 1380 |
| Cleveland, Ohio | WTAM | 1100 | Rochester, N.Y. | WHAM | 1180 |
| Columbia, S.C. | WIS | 560 | Savannah, Ga. | WSAV | 1340 |
| Detroit, Mich. | WWJ | 950 | Springfield, Mass. | WBZA | 1030 |
| Florence, S.C. | WOLS | 1230 | Springfield, Ohio | WIZE | 1340 |
| Grand Rapids, Mich. | WOOD | 1300 | Syracuse, N.Y. | WSYR | 570 |
| Greenville, S.C. | WFBC | 1330 | Tampa, Fla. | WFLA | 970 |
| Greenwood, S.C. | WCRS | 1450 | Toledo, Ohio | WSPD | 740 |
| Jacksonville, Fla. | WJAX | 930 | Washington, D.C. | WRC | 980 |
| Johnstown, Pa. | WJAC | 1400 | Williamsport, Pa. | WRAK | 1400 |
| Harrisburg, Pa. | WKBO | 1230 | Wilmington, Del. | WDEL | 1150 |
| Lakeland, Fla. | WLAK | 1340 | Winston-Salem, N.C. | WSJS | 600 |
| Lima, Ohio | WLOK | 1240 | York, Pa. | WORK | 1350 |

## 1:00 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

| City | Call Letters | Kilocycles | City | Call Letters | Kilocycles |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Birmingham, Ala. | WBRC | 960 | Louisville, Ky. | WAVE | 970 |
| Bismarck, N.D. | KFYR | 550 | Madison, Wis. | WIBA | 1310 |
| Chicago, Ill. | WMAQ | 670 | Mankato, Minn. | KYSM | 1230 |
| Dallas, Texas | WFAA | 820 | Memphis, Tenn. | WMC | 790 |
| Des Moines, Iowa | WHO | 1040 | Mobile, Ala. | WALA | 1410 |
| Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis. | WEBC | 1320 | Montgomery, Ala. | WSFA | 1440 |
| Eau Claire, Wis. | WEAU | 1070 | Nashville, Tenn. | WSM | 650 |
| El Paso, Texas | KSTM | 1380 | New Orleans, La. | WSMB | 1350 |
| Evansville, Ind. | WGBF | 1280 | Oklahoma City, Okla. | WKY | 930 |
| Fargo, N.D. | WDAY | 970 | Omaha, Neb. | WOW | 590 |
| Fort Wayne, Ind. | WOWO | 1190 | Rochester, Minn. | KROC | 1340 |
| Hattiesburg, Miss. | WFOR | 1400 | St. Cloud, Minn. | KFAM | 1450 |
| Hibbing, Minn. | WMFG | 1240 | Shreveport, La. | KTBS | 1480 |
| Houston, Texas | KPRC | 950 | Sioux Falls, S.D. | KSOO | 1140 |
| Indianapolis, Ind. | WIRE | 1430 | Springfield, Mo. | KGBX | 1260 |
| Kansas City, Mo. | WDAF | 610 | Terre Haute, Ind. | WBOW | 1230 |
| Kingsport, Tenn. | WKPT | 1400 | Tulsa, Okla. | KVOO | 1170 |
| La Crosse, Wis. | WKBH | 1410 | Virginia, Minn. | WHLB | 1400 |
| Little Rock, Ark. | KARK | 920 | Wichita, Kan. | KANS | 1240 |

## 12:00 M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Albuquerque, N.M. | KOB | 770 | Phoenix, Ariz. | KTAR | 620 |
| Billings, Mont. | KGHL | 790 | Pocatello, Ida. | KSEI | 930 |
| Boise, Ida. | KIDO | 1380 | Safford, Ariz. | KGLU | 1450 |
| Bozeman, Mont. | KRBM | 1450 | Salt Lake City, Utah | KDYL | 1320 |
| Butte, Mont. | KGIR | 1370 | Tucson, Ariz. | KVOA | 1290 |
| Denver, Colo. | KOA | 850 | Twin Falls, Ida. | KTFI | 1270 |
| Helena, Mont. | KPFA | 1240 | Yuma, Ariz. | KYUM | 1240 |

## 11:00 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bakersfield, Cal. | KERN | 1410 | Sacramento, Cal. | KFBK | 1530 |
| Fresno, Cal. | KMJ | 580 | San Diego, Cal. | KFSD | 600 |
| Los Angeles, Cal. | KFI | 640 | Seattle, Wash. | KOMO | 950 |
| Medford, Ore. | KMED | 1440 | Spokane, Wash. | KHQ | 590 |
| Portland, Ore. | KGW | 620 | | | |

## STATIONS CARRYING ROUND TABLE BY TRANSCRIPTION

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Buffalo, N.Y. | WBEN | 930 | Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn. | KSTP | 1500 |
| Columbus, Ohio | WCOL | 1230 | St. Louis, Mo. | KSD | 550 |
| Milwaukee, Wis. | WTMJ | 620 | San Francisco, Cal. | KPO | 680 |
| Minneapolis, Minn. | WLB | 770 | Schenectady, N.Y. | WGY | 810 |

## BY TRANSCRIPTION VIA SHORT WAVE

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Anchorage, Alaska | KFQD | 790 | Juneau, Alaska | KINY | 1450 |
| Fairbanks, Alaska | KFAR | 610 | Ketchikan, Alaska | KTAN | 930 |

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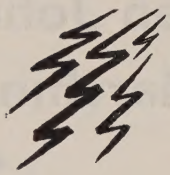

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A University of Chicago Round Table Broadcast

SEPTEMBER 5, 1943

# When Johnny Comes Marching Home

•

**S. H. NERLOVE,** School of Business, University of Chicago

**FLOYD W. REEVES,** Department of Education, University of Chicago

**RALPH W. TYLER,** Department of Education, University of Chicago

•

## SUGGESTED READINGS

CARTWRIGHT, MORSE A., "Re-education of the Returned Soldier and Sailor," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1943.

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